Equity Analysis of Baltimore City's Capital Improvement Plan, FY2014-FY 2020

PREPARED BY THE BALTIMORE NEIGHBORHOOD INDICATORS ALLIANCE

JACOB FRANCE INSTITUTE
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BERNARD C. "JACK" YOUNG MAYOR

100 Holliday Street, Room 250 Baltimore, Maryland 21202

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As the birthplace of racially restrictive zoning, we can't ignore the legacy of structural and institutional racism that plagues our City. This is why I am pleased to release the following report, which explores a way for the Department of Planning to assess equity in its capital budgeting role. This report shows some uncomfortable truths that we will need to confront as a City, but also provides a framework to honestly assess ourselves and move forward in a more equitable manner. It also helps demonstrate the complexity of the work we have in front of us, particularly as we work Citywide to implement the Equity Assessment Program that I co-sponsored when I was City Council President.

While the work has been underway for several years, in 2018 the Department of Planning engaged the Baltimore Neighborhood Indicators Alliance to formalize the assessment of the capital budget and provide a roadmap for analyzing equity moving forward. While BNIA provides a recommended methodology for assessing equity and baseline from which to work, we understand even this assessment to be a work in progress. We look forward to continued dialogue with our sister agencies, City leadership, and the communities and leaders that make up this City.

Equity work is focused on disruption because systems are not broken but working as designed. This means that participants in a system can be well-intentioned and still perpetuate inequity. This means that good intentions alone cannot overcome a system's design. Focusing on the intentions of a system's participants is a common but unproductive outcome of calling out present-day inequities. This distracts from systems-level solutions and reframes inequitable outcomes as a personal failing. The hard work of identifying inequity and reshaping systems to eliminate inequity is one of the greatest challenges of our time.

This is an ongoing effort, and our assessments and policy responses must and will evolve and advance over time. I challenge all City agencies to continue to push for the best assessments and use that information to ensure that the needs and aspirations of all Baltimoreans are valued in the policies, programs, and budgets that we enact as a City.

Sincerely.

Bernard C. "Jack" Young, Mayor

City of Baltimore

BERNARD "JACK" YOUNG Mayor



CHRIS RYER

Director

The Department of Planning has defined equity with the following language: "an equitable Baltimore addresses the needs and aspirations of its diverse population and meaningfully engages residents through inclusive and collaborative processes to expand access to power and resources."

The Department of Planning staff convened an Equity in Planning Committee in 2015 to examine the Department's role in contributing to inequities present in the City and develop recommendations to remedy those wrongs. One of the first recommendations of the committee was to assess the equity of the Baltimore Capital Improvement Program (CIP), the capital budget of the City. This report, written with the Baltimore Neighborhood Indicators Alliance, helps us to implement that recommendation.

This report is just a beginning. We need to continue to monitor our budget decisions and ensure that our most historically disadvantaged neighborhoods aren't being overlooked, while working with agencies to improve the accuracy of the data we have. We need to continue a dialogue with the Baltimore community about what an equitable budget means and we need to continue to expand access to power and resources by improving transparency, education, and outreach.

I look forward to working with our elected officials, neighborhood leaders, agencies, and most importantly, Baltimore residents as we continue our dialogue on equity, and I hope this report provides an honest assessment and helpful platform to inform that dialogue.

Chris Ryer, Director

Baltimore City Department of Planning

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Executive Summary

Baltimore has often been cited as one of the most segregated cities in the US¹, and to overcome this persistent reality will require intentional action to address the legacy effects of historical and current practices and policies. The Baltimore City Department of Planning has chosen to conduct an *equity* analysis of the City's billion dollar Capital Improvement Program (CIP), which is the subject of this report, as a critical first step towards addressing inequities in neighborhood investments.

This report uses an equity lens to analyze capital budget investments. The main goals of the analyses in this report were 1) to establish a methodology for distributing the influence of various kinds of CIP investments to neighborhoods, and 2) to track these investments across different measures of equity over time. This report uses the Urban Sustainability Directors' Network's equity lens, which considers four overarching areas of equity: Structural Equity, Procedural Equity, Distributional Equity, and Transgenerational Equity.

Data used for the analysis in this report was provided by the Department of Planning and spans fiscal years 2014 through 2020. CIP data consists of funding levels that were approved and allocated to agency-requested capital projects *prior* to the start of the fiscal year. Capital projects included in this analysis include bridges, major road reconstructions (but not resurfacing), parks, recreation centers, playgrounds, athletic fields, pumping stations, reservoir improvements, municipal building upgrades (fire stations, police stations, city office buildings, libraries, etc.), cultural organizations receiving City General Obligation bonds, the City's landfill and solid waste transfer stations, and more. The report includes analysis of all projects *where a location can be identified*, which ranges from between 20 to 60 percent of the total funds in the CIP.

Using a new methodology to distribute different kinds of CIP allocations to communities, allocations were calculated for all 55 Community Statistical Areas (CSAs) in Baltimore and measured along key indicators that help to quantify the four areas of equity.

Key Takeaways:

Distributional Equity— Race and Income

- From FY 14-16 and FY 15-17, per capita spending allocated to neighborhoods with the highest percentage of Black/AA residents (>92%) was only half of that allocated to areas to the lowest percentage Black/AA (\$3,849.32 versus \$7,167.43). The total per capita CIP allocation in communities with more than 92% Black/African American residents increased by the greatest amount across all groupings, from \$3,850 per person during FY14-16 to \$9,664 during FY18-20. Although the CIP allocation has progressed towards a more equal distribution over time, with a more equal level spending between areas with the highest and lowest rates of Black/African American population, this does not yet represent a redistributive allocation pattern to overcome years of unequal investments.
- Communities with the highest and the lowest median incomes had less than half of CIP allocations occurring in the middle income neighborhoods. For example, communities with less

¹ Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton (1989) "Hypersegregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Black and Hispanic Segregation along Five Dimensions" in *Demography*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Aug., 1989), pp. 373-391

than \$33,999 median income had less than half the per capita CIP allocation than that occurring in communities with slightly higher median income (between \$34,000 and \$39,999). **The City might may want to consider using income as a criteria for future CIP allocations.**

Structural Equity—Vacancy and Life Expectancy

- The greatest increases in per capita CIP allocation has occurred within communities with between 4% and 14.9% vacant buildings, but remained flat in communities with greater than 15 percent vacancy. While demolitions of blighted properties in high vacancy neighborhoods has increased since 2015, these kinds of investments are not included in this analysis as they are part of the bulk (non-mapped) CIP accounts. It is highly recommended that City agencies establish a process for reporting on bulk account expenditures to DOP as part of the annual Equity Assessment Program. One possibility is to adopt an open data system for expenditures such as Open Checkbook in New York City. Of top priority would be the kinds of expenditures that improve quality of life in neighborhoods such as blight elimination, road resurfacing and other aesthetic improvements.
- The per capita CIP allocation for communities with life expectancy just below the citywide average (70 to 72 years) was approximately double that to any other kind of community. Communities with the lowest life expectancy (less than 70 years) consistently had less than half of the per capita CIP allocation. Agencies may want to consider life expectancy in neighborhoods as a factor in formulating CIP requests in the future.

Procedural Equity—Plan Year

• Many communities in Baltimore have plans or studies that involve intense visioning and planning processes that bring residents, neighborhood groups, businesses and city agencies together to plan for the future of a smaller area. The process of creating an area plan helps all stakeholders in the neighborhood coordinate resources from public agencies, which could be included into agency priorities within the CIP. Having a more recently adopted plan does seem to have a relationship to how CIP dollars are distributed. In all time periods, neighborhoods with plans adopted more recently than 2015 had a higher per capita allocation than those with plans adopted before 2015. From a procedural perspective, communities with older plans (or no plan) should begin the process of adopting a small area plan so that CIP projects can be planned with community input.

Transgenerational Equity—Age

• While communities with different rates of seniors and school age children seemed to experience equal CIP allocations, per capita CIP allocations have consistently been greatest in communities with the lowest percentage of children under five. Per capita allocation in communities with the highest under five population has increased over the time periods examined, but it is still not as high as the allocation in communities with the lowest under five population. The City may wish to consider neighborhoods with very young children as a criteria for prioritizing future CIP investments, particularly those that affect children.

Introduction

Baltimore has often been cited as one of the most segregated cities in the US.² As stated in the Baltimore City Department of Planning's (DoP) Equity Action Plan, "it is undeniable that historic policy and planning decisions created and exacerbated inequity and inequality in Baltimore City. Policies to deliberately segregate white and black residents – such as restrictive covenants, the Federal Housing Administration's openly racist system for mortgage loan approval, urban renewal, and others – directly contributed to so many of the economic and social challenges Baltimore City faces today." The problem today is that continued residential segregation provides an often unknown basis upon and means for which different standards of public service or public policies can be delivered.³ To overcome persistent segregation requires intentional action to address these biases.

Why was this report developed?

Recognizing the longstanding, and continuing, patterns of inequity in Baltimore, in 2015, staff at the Baltimore Department of Planning convened an Equity in Planning Committee. Over the next few years, the Department established an Equity Action Plan that set forth goals and strategies to address the legacy effects of inequity and how current policies continue to maintain or exacerbate these inequities. The Baltimore Planning Commission, staffed by the Department of Planning, is legally tasked with providing the primary review and approval of the City's billion dollar Capital Improvement Program (CIP). For this reason, one of the first action steps under the Equity Action Plan was to conduct an equity analysis of the CIP, which is the subject of this report.

Using this report's analysis of the CIP as a starting point, the DoP aims to implement policies that support more equitable allocation of funds, engage more stakeholders in the capital budget process and identify additional funding sources to meet Baltimore's overwhelming capital needs.

What is included in this report?

This report uses an equity lens created by the U.S. Urban Sustainability Directors Network (USDN) to analyze Baltimore's capital budget investments. The USDN equity lens is used by the Baltimore Department of Planning to evaluate existing practices and procedures as outlined in the agency's Equity Action Plan. The USDN lens considers four overarching areas of equity: Structural Equity, Procedural Equity, Distributional Equity, and Transgenerational Equity.

The main goals of the analyses in this report were: 1) to establish a methodology for assessing the influence of various kinds of CIP investments to neighborhoods and 2) to track these investments across different measures of equity over time.

To understand who is likely benefiting from capital improvement investments through the CIP, this report analyzes the distribution of capital improvement appropriations from FY14-20 compared to the distribution of various community-based indicators (race, income, vacancy, etc.). The report includes

² Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton (1989) "Hypersegregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Black and Hispanic Segregation along Five Dimensions" in *Demography*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Aug., 1989), pp. 373-391

³ The Fifth Annual Symposium on the Social Determinants of Health, Johns Hopkins Urban Health Institute. Final Report on Key Lessons Learned. Appendix: Residential Segregation in Baltimore City http://urbanhealth.jhu.edu/ PDFs/SDH/SDH 2016 Appendix.pdf

analysis of all projects from FY14-20 where a location can be identified, which ranges from between 20% to 60% of the total funds in the CIP.

Of course, CIP allocations are one of many kinds of neighborhood investments. A 2019 study by the Urban Institute⁴ found that up to 90% of capital investment in neighborhoods comes from the private sector in the form of commercial lending for real estate development and/or residential mortgage and rehabilitation. In addition, funds spent directly by State or Federal agencies, such as improvements to state universities or public transit infrastructure, are not included in the CIP. While this report discusses the larger context of investment in the City, the analysis in this report only focuses on those dollars which are allocated through the City's Capital Improvement Program.

Who prepared this report?

This report was prepared collaboratively by the Baltimore Neighborhood Indicators Alliance and the Baltimore City Department of Planning. The process of developing this report was informed by recent efforts in other cities to assess equitable outcomes of their capital budgets, a review of literature on the history of equity planning, and input from DoP staff and members of the Baltimore City Planning Commission.

About BNIA-JFI

The Baltimore Neighborhood Indicators Alliance – Jacob France Institute of the University of Baltimore (BNIA-JFI) provides accessible, reliable and actionable data and community-based indicators that describe social, economic and quality of life issues impacting Baltimore City and its neighborhoods. BNIA-JFI coordinates data acquisition, warehousing, analysis and dissemination activities of a diverse group of citywide nonprofit organizations, city and state government agencies, neighborhoods, foundations, businesses and universities to help leaders throughout Baltimore City, the region, and the State make data-driven decisions.

Background:

Inequity in Baltimore

Inequity in Baltimore can be described along many dimensions, such as income, race or neighborhood; each of these factors manifests in the stark inequalities between groups and communities. Income inequality, perhaps the most studied forms of inequality, between the wealthiest and poorest households in the United States has been growing since the 1970's, and the Baltimore metropolitan region is unfortunately no exception; between 1970 and 2008-2012, household income inequality grew by 13%. What is perhaps lesser known is that households physically "sorting" by income has actually contributed to an even faster-paced gap in neighborhood inequality in almost all metropolitan areas of the country. In the Baltimore region, neighborhood inequality (high concentrations of either poverty or wealth by neighborhood) has grown by 24.8% since 1970.

⁴ Brett Theodos, Eric Hangen, and Brady Meixell (2019) "Racial Segregation and Investment Patterns in Baltimore" https://apps.urban.org/features/baltimore-investment-flows/. Urban Institute

⁵ Paul A. Jargowsky (2017) "Economic Segregation in US Metropolitan Areas, 1970-2010" http://www.21stcenturyneighborhoods.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/jargowsky.pdf

The causes of neighborhood or spatial inequality are varied but primarily include the rapid depopulation since the 1950's from Baltimore City to the surrounding counties, the coupling of educational spending with local jurisdictional revenues, and discriminatory housing policies that prevented African American and other minority households from accessing residential mortgages. As economic opportunity grew further away from high-poverty neighborhoods, a 2015 study by Harvard economists⁶ also found that long commuting times to work within neighborhoods was the single strongest factor affecting the odds of escaping poverty for young people today.

Differences by neighborhood are most dramatically evident in the ultimate quality of life outcome: life expectancy. Unfortunately, racial disparities in life expectancy exist. In 2017, there was a 6-year gap in life expectancy between white (76.1) and black (70.9) Baltimoreans. While race accounts for much of this difference, the spatial disparities among neighborhoods with similar racial make-up are even starker. Take for example two neighborhoods in Baltimore that are about the same percentage black, such as Howard Park and Clifton-Berea. While both are 93% African American neighborhoods, there can be as much as a 10-year difference among neighborhoods in different parts of Baltimore that are similar in one indicator such as race.

Analyzing Current Policies Using an Equity Lens

In the spring of 2015, the Baltimore Department of Planning (DoP) established an Equity in Planning Committee (EIPC), based on a "desire to understand and actively work to dismantle and remedy the legacies of inequity" in Baltimore City. The Department of Planning defines an equitable Baltimore as addressing "the needs and aspirations of its diverse population and meaningfully engages residents through inclusive and collaborative processes to expand access to power and resources." An Equity Action Plan was created as a roadmap with concrete actions that the Department could take towards making Baltimore more equitable.

The Equity Action Plan is based on the concept of using an "equity lens" in policy and planning. The Planning Department uses the Urban Sustainability Directors' Network's (USDN) equity lens, which requires consideration of four overarching areas of equity. The purpose of this multi-faceted approach is to both highlight and prevent any conflation between the concepts of equity and equality. For any policy or project, decision makers should consider:

- 1. **Distributional Equity:** Does the distribution of civic resources and investment explicitly account for potential racially disparate outcomes?
- 2. **Transgenerational Equity:** Does the policy or project result in unfair burdens on future generations?
- 3. **Structural Equity:** What historic advantages or disadvantages have affected residents in the given community?

⁶ "Transportation Emerges as Crucial to Escaping Poverty," New York Times (May 7, 2015) https://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/07/upshot/transportation-emerges-as-crucial-to-escaping-poverty.html

⁷ Maryland Department of Health and Mental Hygiene's Vital Statistics Annual Report (2017) http://dhmh.maryland.gov/vsa/Pages/reports.aspx.

⁸ Baltimore Neighborhood Indicators Alliance, *Vital Signs 17* Health Chapter (2019) https://bniajfi.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/04 Health VS17 Final.pdf

4. **Procedural Equity:** How are residents who have been historically excluded from planning processes being authentically included in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the proposed policy or project?

The EIPC established a set of goals and strategies to use an equity lens to develop, revise, and evaluate its own and other City policies in an effort to undo the legacy effects of inequality. In order to plan for Baltimore's future, one of the first steps is to conduct an equity analysis of the Capital Improvement Program.

Literature on Equity Planning

The fact that Baltimore is focusing on equity planning has roots in a long history of planning practice in the US. Equity or advocacy planning is a way of addressing the historical and root causes of poverty and racial segregation which remain evident today in urban areas including Baltimore. The pursuit of equity objectives within the planning field requires focusing on not only the overall outcomes that result from neighborhood investments but also **the decision-making process** and day-to-day practices that help shape cities. In the decision-making process, those who have better information and know what outcomes they want to achieve have a greater advantage over other participants. To be an effective part of the decision-making process, planners must participate in an issue for a relatively long period of time and must be seen as serious long-term players in order to help shape outcomes. The fact that the Baltimore Department of Planning established the EIPC is a signal to taking this long-term approach.

Although potentially a laudable goal, measuring whether a process is moving towards or away from equitable outcomes is a challenge, because quantifying equity should be unique to local context. Several cities¹⁰ have embarked on creating baseline assessments of equity by comparing different groups of residents across race/ethnicity, age and income as well as other factors that contribute to inequality such as neighborhood location and urban governance structures. In a 2018 report for St. Louis, for example, racial equity was measured against indicators regarding educational attainment, health and safety, and civic engagement. A 2017 equity indicators report for Pittsburgh also measures progress along domains such as health, food and safety, education, infrastructure and civic engagement.

Creating an Equitable Future: What Does an Equitable Budget Look Like?

One of the most important ways the City of Baltimore implements the policies and visions for future development is through the Capital Improvement Program (CIP). The Department of Planning is committed to conducting this analysis regularly to ensure that today's decisions are not perpetuating inequitable investment patterns of the past, and instead proactively seeking to redress past inequities. Still, work remains to be done to define exactly what an equitable investment pattern looks like. Over the next several years, Baltimore City's Equity Assessment Program (based on legislation requiring all city agencies to conduct equity assessments) will roll out. The Department of Planning should use this citywide program and dialogue to continue to inform the goals set around budgeting equitably.

⁹ Norman Krumholz (2018) "Introduction" in *Advancing Equity Planning Now*. Norman Krumholz and Kathryn Wertheim Hexter (eds). Cornell University Press.

¹⁰ For recent examples, see "Equity Indicators Baseline Report: City of St. Louis" (2018) https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/mayor/initiatives/resilience/equity/documents/upload/Equity-Indicators-Baseline-2018-Report-Document.pdf and "Pittsburgh Equity Indicators: A Baseline Measurement for Enhancing Equity" (2017) https://apps.pittsburghpa.gov/redtail/images/3171 PGH Equity Indicators Final.pdf

What are other cities doing? Learning from Analyses of CIP projects

In 2016, the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA) at the University of Minnesota was similarly asked to review how the City of St. Paul analyzed its capital improvement budget and found that the city's allocation process did not explicitly take into account geographic balance or racial equity. The report's key recommendations include establishing both a racial equity category and a category for "geographic balance" within the project scoring criteria. Methodologically, the researchers found that measuring per capita spending of CIP dollars, rather than total dollar amounts, provides a more accurate basis for gauging equitable distribution. They also caution against using annual data given the variations that can occur in budgeting from year to year. Finally, the research team distributed the value of investments proportionally by land across districts rather than assigning the same value to every district; this means that CIP investments would have the greatest impact to more proximate areas rather than more distant ones. Each of these methodological decisions based on the experience in St. Paul have also been employed in this report.

CIP as a Component of Overall Neighborhood Investments

Of course, CIP allocations are just one of many kinds of neighborhood investments. A 2019 study by the Urban Institute¹² found that the vast majority of capital investment in neighborhoods comes from the private sector in the form of commercial lending for real estate development and/or residential mortgage and rehabilitation. The research team found that mainstream or private-sector loans made up 90% of all investments that come into neighborhoods, leaving only 10% of the investment coming from mission-based loans (such as Community Development Financial Institution Funds) or public-sector investments. Furthermore, only a portion of public sector investments within neighborhoods are reflected in the CIP. Funds spent directly by State or Federal agencies, such as improvements to state universities or public transit infrastructure, are not included in the CIP.

Overall, the authors of the Urban Institute report found that public sector investments follow a more equitable pattern than private sector investment. For example, looking at fiscal years 2011-2016, more HOME and CDBG funds (which are federal funds distributed by Census-based formula for housing and community development activities) are invested in neighborhoods where the majority of residents are black or African-American. The authors also analyzed the same data that this report seeks to examine, Baltimore City's Capital Improvement Program investments. In their analysis, they found that the highest investments were in neighborhoods where black or African-American residents made up between 50 and 85 percent of the population.

The Urban Institute's report provides an excellent basis for understanding investment flows across the City as a whole, and helps to put the City's capital budget dollars in the context of other investments in the City. Its authors conclude that public sector investment, while dwarfed by private investment in terms of dollar amount, can be allocated in such a way as to try to counteract the trends in private investment, where investment is concentrated in neighborhoods where African American residents make up less than 50 percent of the population. They state, "Public capital provides opportunities to counteract segregation of resources. Some public programs focus investment in areas that have seen too

¹¹ Cowgill, Jono and Lovelace, Hilary (2016) "A Study of Capital Improvement Budget (CIB) and Neighborhood Sales Tax Revitalization (STAR) Programs across St. Paul, MN Council Districts" http://www.cura.umn.edu/publications/catalog/kncbr-1417

¹² Brett Theodos, Eric Hangen, and Brady Meixell (2019) "Racial Segregation and Investment Patterns in Baltimore" https://apps.urban.org/features/baltimore-investment-flows/. Urban Institute

little of it. The spatial distribution of public-sector capital flows looks different from the private-sector capital flows," which flow to relatively whiter and wealthier areas.

While it is important to understand the larger context of investment in the City, this analysis in this report only focuses on those dollars which are allocated through the City's Capital Improvement Program for two main reasons. The first one has mostly to do with the availability of data; while CIP allocations are coordinated by the DoP, actual expenditures are not. To provide a full portrait of expenditures would require a process of acquiring and collating the data across agencies. The second main reason is to focus on information that can be acted upon by DoP; many of the other neighborhood investments are driven by decision-making outside the control (or sometimes knowledge) of DoP.

Background on Baltimore's CIP

A capital improvement is a long-term investment, typically in physical infrastructure, such as roads, monuments, public buildings, parks, or art. Capital improvements are defined by the Board of Estimates as "... any physical betterment or improvement and any preliminary studies and surveys relative thereto, including, but not limited to, any property of a permanent nature, and equipment needed in connection with such improvement, when first erected or acquired."¹³

The City Charter requires the Planning Commission to annually prepare a six-year recommendation for capital improvement programming (Art. IV Sec.4 (b)). The CIP adopted by the Planning Commission is a complete listing of physical improvements that the Commission believes the City should fund during the six-year period covered by the program. The program is developed by the Department of Planning after soliciting and reviewing requests of various City agencies. The Department of Planning, through careful, deliberate analysis of the submissions, and detailed discussion with the submitting agencies, either adds or deletes projects, so that the CIP appropriations are in line with the overall City vision, the needs of the citizens, and funding availability. This comprehensive approach to programming aims to deliver more efficiencies, reducing unnecessary duplication, avoiding conflicts, and maximizing cost sharing with state and federal resources.¹⁴

The CIP process for each fiscal year (from July 1 to June 30) begins in the preceding September with City agencies formulating requests for the upcoming six-year CIP. The agency is provided targeted amounts from each available funding source. The agency provides a brief description, justification, and detailed cost estimate of the project being proposed. Agencies must submit their requests to the Planning Commission in early December.

The Planning Commission is charged with reviewing each agency's submission and with developing a recommended CIP program in early March. The Department of Planning staff works with the Commission and the submitting agencies to develop recommendations on each of the requests. The Department's staff reviews each project to ensure it best matches the needs of the City of Baltimore. The Planning Commission's evaluation criteria include:

¹³ About the Capital Improvement Program, Baltimore City Department of Planning https://planning.baltimorecity.gov/planning-capital-improvement

¹⁴ LIVE, EARN, PLAY, LEARN: Comprehensive Master Plan for the City of Baltimore (2006) https://planning.baltimorecity.gov/planning-master-plan

- Necessary to protect public health and safety
- City funding will leverage other fund sources
- Capital investment will result in operating savings
- Fulfills a state or federal mandate
- Necessary to implement a priority housing or economic development project
- Promotes private-public partnerships
- Implements the City's Comprehensive Master Plan, area master plans and/or agency/institution's master plan
- Implements the City's Sustainability Plan
- Agency has prioritized project (Added in 2017)
- Promotes equity (Added in 2017)

Presently, the Planning Commission has no specific instrument for assessing the evaluation criteria such as a weighted rubric or similar tool. With the goal of creating more robust guidance, the Department of Planning convenes the capital budget staff of impacted agencies to better coordinate city capital investments towards a more equitable budget. Baltimore's new Equity Assessment Program's focus on capital investments gives additional support to this ongoing interagency effort.

Data and Methodology:

Because the Department of Planning plays a large role in coordinating and approving the capital budget each year, this report focuses solely on those dollars which flow through the City's capital budget. The Urban Institute report cited above provides important context for how these funds fit into the larger context of investment in the City.

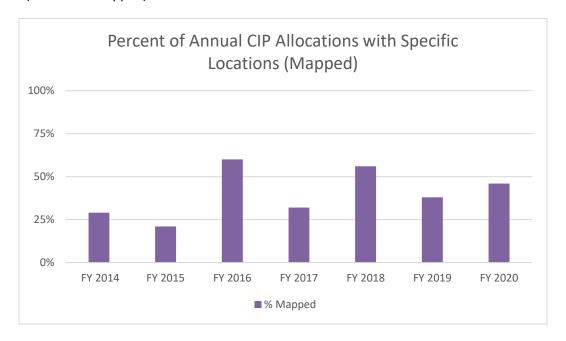
Data used for the analysis in this report was provided by the DoP and spans fiscal years 2014 through 2020. CIP data consists of funding levels that were approved and allocated to agency-requested capital projects *prior* to the start of the fiscal year. Capital projects included in this analysis include bridges, major road reconstructions (but not resurfacing), parks, recreation centers, playgrounds, athletic fields, pumping stations, municipal building upgrades (fire stations, police stations, city office buildings, libraries, etc.), cultural organizations receiving City GO bonds, landfill, solid waste transfer stations, and more.

Identifying Project Locations

Projects fall into two categories with respect to how the data can be analyzed: those with a location identified and those without a location identified; the latter are referred to as "bulk" project accounts. In many cases, the location of the capital investment is known when funds are requested as the funds are targeted towards a specific building or bridge, for example. However, for some types of capital investments, agencies request funds for a type of work, such as road resurfacing or vacant building demolition, to be used for that purpose throughout the city. Where the money for these kinds of projects is actually spent is only known after expenditures are made. Capital projects that fall into this category that were not included in this analysis include demolition, housing and business incentives, road resurfacing, traffic safety improvements, traffic signals, water/sewer main repair and/or replacement, certain school building improvements (those smaller than a full renovation or replacement), and more.

Notable data that was not able to be included in this analysis were such projects as systemic school improvements (windows, roofs, HAVAC), demolition activity within neighborhoods, and several Department of Transportation projects (street resurfacing, traffic safety improvements, etc).

Figure 1 below shows the annual fluctuation in the percentage of funds for projects that have specific locations (i.e. can be mapped) identified in the CIP.



The Department is working with agencies to improve the location information where it is realistic to do so. Increasing the percent of dollars that can be attributed to a particular location is a key departmental goal.

Determining Areas of Influence for CIP Projects

One of the main objectives of this analysis was to provide a replicable methodology for determining how different kinds of CIP projects impact neighborhoods. For example, capital investment in a local library branch will be very important to the neighborhood(s) served by the branch, but may not have too much impact in other parts of town. In contrast, investments in major cultural destinations such as the National Aquarium affects the immediate downtown area as well as the city as a whole.

To account for this kind of differentiation in the spatial influence of different CIP projects, the Department of Planning staff along with members of the Planning Commission categorized projects into three categories based on the geographic impact of each project. Projects with a smaller footprint, largely beneficial solely to the community in which they are located were categorized as "Local". Projects with a slightly larger, multi-neighborhood impact, were classified as "Multi-Neighborhood". The third and final category, "Citywide", was applied to projects that would impact the city as a whole. Projects classified as Multi-Neighborhood or Citywide also had neighborhood impacts so it was important to craft a methodology that would allow for a higher amount of funding to be assigned to the area surrounding the project.

The CIP investment data with definitive spatial information- such as an address or parcel ID, a street segment, or project with clear boundaries- was entered into a Geographic Information System (GIS) for analysis (See Appendix A for more details). Distance buffers were created around the project's spatial location in order to distribute the value of funds. A quarter (0.25) mile distance has been established in the literature as a "walking distance" within the fields of public health, planning, and transportation¹⁵¹⁶; this distance was used as a basis for local project impact.

Influence of CIP Projects	Distribution of Allocation	Examples
Local	¼ mile buffer applied to all projects Funding distributed by share of area in each Community Statistical Area (CSA)	Park and playground renovations, road reconstruction and streetscapes, environmental restoration sites, recreation centers, school improvements
Multi-Neighborhood	50% of funding remains in ¼ buffer 50% of funding distributed beyond to a 1- mile radius	Rec & Parks (Cylburn, Middle Branch Fitness), Business Parks, Public Markets
Citywide	50% of funding remains in ¼ buffer 50% of funding distributed beyond to a 5- mile radius	Major Cultural/Tourism (Walter's, B&O, Aquarium, Rash Field), City Services (City Hall, Police HQ, Landfill)

Analysis:

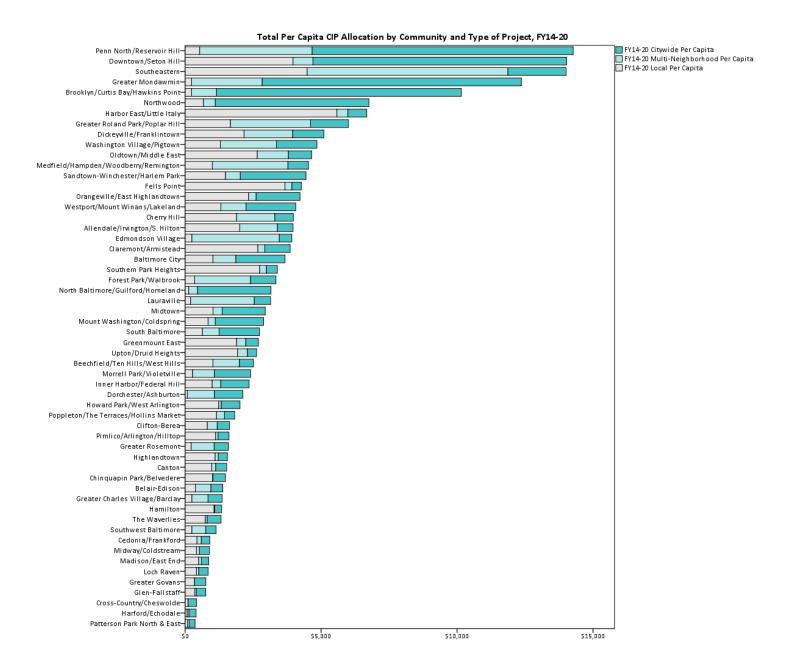
Distribution of CIP Allocations by Community

Using this methodology to distribute CIP allocations to communities, allocations were calculated for all 55 Community Statistical Areas (CSAs) in Baltimore. CSAs are clusters of neighborhoods organized around census tract boundaries, which are consistent statistical boundaries. Total values were normalized by the population size of each CSA to create per-capita spending figures.

From FY14 to FY20, the total per capita allocations for projects with locations was highest in Penn North/Reservoir Hill, Downtown/Seton Hill and Southeastern Baltimore. However, much of the allocation attributed to Penn North/Reservoir Hill and Greater Mondawmin has citywide impact (i.e. Druid Lake Reservoir improvements). The community with the highest per capita CIP allocation of local projects was Harbor East/Little Italy which included many small projects under \$1mil every year as well as a large project - the Central Avenue Streetscape in FY14-15. The Southeastern community had significant multineighborhood capital projects such as Broening Highway Bridge over Colgate Creek (FY17).

¹⁵ Aultman-Hall L, Roorda M, Baetz B. Using GIS for evaluation of neighbourhoods pedestrian accessibility. Journal of Urban Planning and Development. 1997;123(1):10–17.

¹⁶ Hoehner C, Brennan Ramirez L, Elliot M. Perceived and objective environmental measures and physical activity among urban adults. American Journal of Preventive Medicine. 2005;28(S2):105–116.



Given the annual variations in the amount of funding allocated for the CIP and how many mapped projects could be included in the analysis, allocations were grouped into 3-year averages. Data and maps of CIP allocations for each of the 3-year time periods are in Appendix B. For example, Penn North/Reservoir Hill saw most of the allocations in the early time periods (Zoo improvements, Druid Hill Swimming Pool and Bath House) but Greater Mondawmin experienced more per capita allocation in the latter time periods (Jones Falls Pumping Station, Ashburton Reservoir Improvements).

Choosing Equity Indicators

Given that inequities in Baltimore manifest themselves across different dimensions, and using the equity lens established in the newly-adopted Baltimore Sustainability Plan, several indicators from the Baltimore

Vital Signs report¹⁷ were chosen to measure how Baltimore's CIP allocations are distributed within communities. Using routinely updated indicators such as those in *Vital Signs* can allow the Department of Planning to track progress over time.

Type of Equity	Community Based Indicators	Data Definition
Distributional Equity	Race	Percent of residents who are non-Hispanic Black/African American or White/Caucasian
	Diversity	The percent chance that two people picked at random within an area will be of a different race/ethnicity
	Income	Median household income
		(Source: American Community Survey)
Transgenerational Equity	Age	Percent of residents who are under 5 years old, between 5 and 17 years old and over 65 years old.
		(Source: American Community Survey)
Procedural Equity	Plan Year	The most recent year an area master plan or study was adopted by the Baltimore City Planning Commission.
Structural Equity	Vacancy	The percentage of residential properties that have been classified as being vacant and abandoned by the Baltimore City Department of Housing
	Crime	The violent crime rate captures incidents of homicide, rape, aggravated assault, robbery, burglary, larceny, and auto theft that are reported to the Police Department.
	Life Expectancy	The average number of years a newborn can expect to live through their lifespan calculated by the Health Department
	Property Type	Ratio of commercial vs. residential properties from MD Property View

Equity Indicators for Baltimore's Communities

To understand how CIP allocations were distributed across each chosen equity measure, equal quartiles of CSAs were created by ranking CSAs for each indicator and grouping 12-15 CSAs per group. ¹⁸ For example, all CSAs were ordered by the percent of residents who are Black/African American (non-

¹⁷ The Baltimore Neighborhood Indicators Alliance annually prepares the *Vital Signs* report, a compendium of over 100 quality of life indicators for all communities in Baltimore. www.bniajfi.org/vital_signs

¹⁸ CSAs with similar values across each measure were maintained in the same quartile, in cases where they were grouped in different quartiles by rank.

Hispanic) and placed into 4 quartiles. Maps of each CSA grouping are in Appendix C. As the City's demographics change, these quartiles will change over time. It is recommended that the Department of Planning use the latest demographic data when conducting this analysis in the future.

Group	Community	% Black/ African America
		n
	Baltimore City	62.4
<32%	South Baltimore	1.7
	Canton	3.4
	Fells Point	5.4
	Greater Roland Park/Poplar Hill	6.8
	Highlandtown	8.9
	Medfield/Hampden/Woodberry/ Remington	10.7
	Inner Harbor/Federal Hill	13.6
	Orangeville/East Highlandtown	13.8
	North	17.7
	Baltimore/Guilford/Homeland	
	Cross-Country/Cheswolde	18.6
	Morrell Park/Violetville	22.2
	Mount Washington/Coldspring	25.7
	Downtown/Seton Hill	29.8
	Patterson Park North & East	31.2
	Midtown	31.4
33%	Southeastern	33.1
to	Greater Charles Village/Barclay	33.7
69%	Brooklyn/Curtis Bay/Hawkins Point	40.6
	Harford/Echodale	52.4
	Lauraville	53.3
	Harbor East/Little Italy	55.8
	Claremont/Armistead	56.4
	Washington Village/Pigtown	60.1
	Glen-Fallstaff	63.1
	Hamilton	63.1
	Chinquapin Park/Belvedere	68.9
	Westport/Mount Winans/Lakeland	69.4

Group	Community	% Black/
Group	Community	African
		America
		n
70%	Southwest Baltimore	75.5
to	The Waverlies	76.2
91%	Cedonia/Frankford	78.5
3270	Beechfield/Ten Hills/West Hills	78.7
	Poppleton/The Terraces/Hollins	80.6
	Market	80.0
	Dickeyville/Franklintown	81.3
	Northwood	84.6
	Penn North/Reservoir Hill	84.9
	Belair-Edison	85.3
	Allendale/Irvington/S. Hilton	87.4
	Oldtown/Middle East	87.6
	Madison/East End	88.1
	Loch Raven	88.5
	Cherry Hill	88.8
	Greater Govans	89.5
>92%	Upton/Druid Heights	92.0
	Midway/Coldstream	92.7
	Howard Park/West Arlington	93.5
	Clifton-Berea	93.8
	Southern Park Heights	93.8
	Greater Mondawmin	94.1
	Greenmount East	94.2
	Forest Park/Walbrook	94.4
	Pimlico/Arlington/Hilltop	95.2
	Dorchester/Ashburton	95.5
	Edmondson Village	95.9
	Sandtown-Winchester/Harlem	96.2
	Park	
	Greater Rosemont	96.6

Distribution of CIP Allocations by Equity Indicator

Using the methodology for ascribing CIP allocations to communities detailed above, the next step in the analysis is to track how these allocations are distributed by CSA-groupings for each equity indicator over time. In this section of the report, the 3-year average per capita CIP allocations are provides in tables and turns into charts to show how the relationship between quartiles changes over time.

The purpose of this section of the analysis is to provide a means of tracking the distribution of spending over time so that future CIP budgeting processes have actionable ways of using an equity lens for investments within neighborhoods

A note about the charts: The charts provide a way to visualize the relationship among the four quartiles along any indicator. If per capita spending were equal across all four quartiles, each shade of the bar would be the same size. It is important to note that this does not translate into a percent of overall CIP allocations. This should be interpreted as a relationship between the per capita figures rather than as a percent of overall spending.

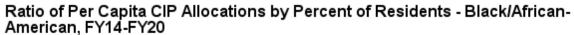
Indicators of Distributional Equity

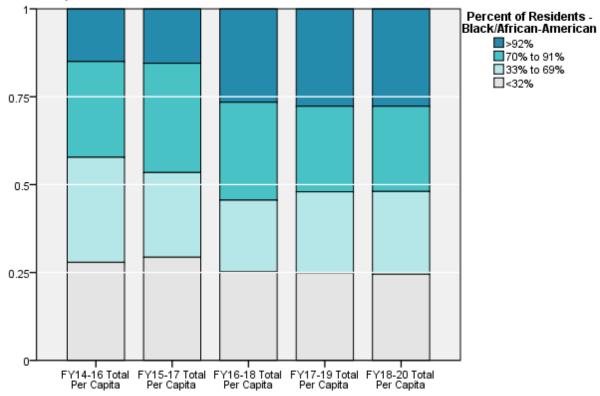
Black/African American

One of the most important goals is to ensure CIP resources are consciously redistributive towards areas where persons of color make up a large percentage of the population. In 2017, Baltimore had an overall 62.3% Black/African American (AA) population, where some neighborhoods have more than 92% Black/AA residents. Based on the 3-year average per capita CIP allocations from FY 14-16 and FY 15-17, per capita spending allocated to neighborhoods with the highest percentage of Black/AA residents (>92%) was only half of that allocated to areas to the lowest percentage Black/AA (\$3,849.32 versus \$7,167.43). However, starting with FY16-18, the relationship of per capita spending becomes more equal not only among the highest and lowest percentages but across all neighborhood categories in terms of Black/AA residents.

Table 1: The total per capita CIP allocation in communities with more than 92% Black/AA residents increased by the greatest amount across all groupings, from \$3,850 per person during FY14-16 to \$9,664 during FY18-20.

Percent of Residents - Black/African-American	FY14-16 Total Per Capita	FY15-17 Total Per Capita	FY16-18 Total Per Capita	FY17-19 Total Per Capita	FY18-20 Total Per Capita
<32%	\$7,167.43	\$6,861.41	\$8,770.34	\$8,024.30	\$8,552.61
33% to 69%	\$7,669.48	\$5,624.51	\$7,103.95	\$7,438.64	\$8,205.07
70% to 91%	\$6,996.67	\$7,260.59	\$9,694.62	\$7,862.63	\$8,445.73
>92%	\$3,849.56	\$3,621.15	\$9,251.73	\$8,933.35	\$9,664.06





Key Takeaway: The CIP allocation has progressed towards a more equal distribution over time, with a more equal relationship of spending between areas with the highest and lowest rates of Black/AA population. This may not yet be an equitable outcome that can help reverse prior disparities. The shift towards more equal distribution has occurred prior to the more intentional review of CIP allocations and may not be sustained or sufficient to truly overcome historical inequities.

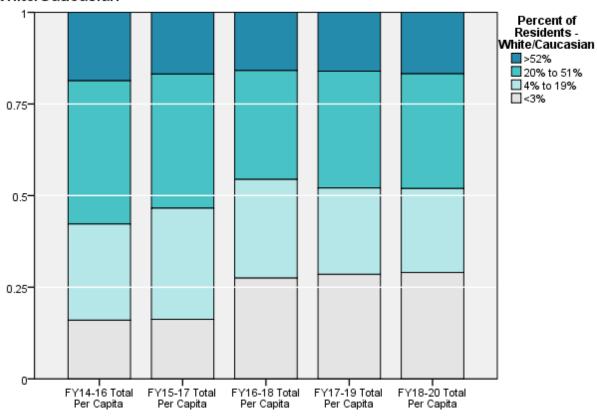
White/Caucasian (Non-Hispanic)

The citywide percentage of non-Hispanic White residents in Baltimore was 27.6 percent in 2017. Across nearly all three-year time periods, per capita CIP allocations were highest in neighborhoods where the non-Hispanic White residents were closest to the citywide average (between 20 percent and 51 percent). Complementary to the previous finding, the per capita CIP allocations from FY 14-16 and FY 15-17 was less than half in neighborhoods with less than 3% non-Hispanic White residents (\$4,104.77 versus \$10,041.85). However, starting with the FY16-18 period, the distribution significantly reverses with more equal per capita spending in neighborhoods with less than 3% and between 20% and 51% non-Hispanic White residents (\$10,112.61 and \$10,913.63 respectively).

Table 2: The total per capita CIP allocation in communities with less than 3% non-Hispanic white residents increased from \$4,105 per person during FY14-16 to \$10,113 during FY18-20. However, the highest allocation went to neighborhoods between 20% and 51% non-Hispanic white residents across all time periods.

Percent of Residents - White/Caucasian	FY14-16 Total Per Capita	FY15-17 Total Per Capita	FY16-18 Total Per Capita	FY17-19 Total Per Capita	FY18-20 Total Per Capita
<3%	\$4,104.77	\$3,796.38	\$9,568.62	\$9,198.24	\$10,112.61
4% to 19%	\$6,741.46	\$7,085.36	\$9,377.72	\$7,597.74	\$7,997.18
20% to 51%	\$10,041.85	\$8,551.22	\$10,350.37	\$10,286.64	\$10,913.63
>52%	\$4,795.06	\$3,934.69	\$5,523.92	\$5,176.31	\$5,844.05

Ratio of Per Capita CIP Allocations from FY14-20 by Percent of Residents - White/Caucasian



Key Takeaway: The graph above shows that the CIP allocation has progressed towards a more equitable distribution over time, with a greater share going to areas with the lowest rates of non-Hispanic White population. However, overall the greatest share is consistently going to neighborhoods with non-Hispanic White residents closest to the citywide average.

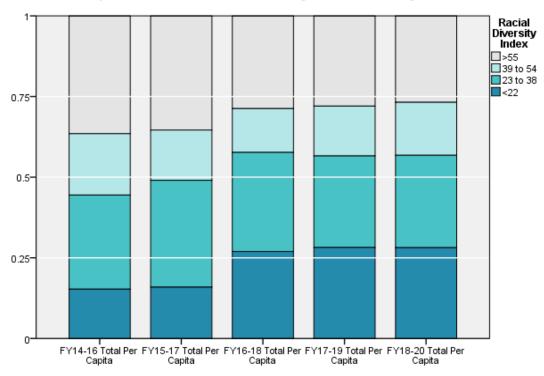
Diversity

The Diversity Index (DI) measures the percent chance that two people picked at random within an area will be of a different race/ethnicity including Black/AA, White, Asian, All Other Races and Hispanic. In 2017, the DI for Baltimore was 55.9 percent. Along this measure, what the equitable distribution should be is multi-faceted. On the one hand, CIP allocations to high diversity areas could be the equitable outcome, which was the case for FY14-16 and FY15-17 with the highest ratio of allocations in areas with DI > 55%. However, low diversity areas in Baltimore represent areas of high percentage Black/African American residents. The per capita allocations in areas with DI less than 22 percent went from being less than half of that in areas to high diversity (\$3,925.65 versus \$9,381.14) to being more equal (\$9,344.60 versus \$9,810.06). Allocations in both high- <u>and</u> low-diversity is likely the more equitable distribution.

Table 3: The total per capita CIP allocation in communities with low diversity increased by the greatest amount from \$3,926 per person during FY14-16 to \$9,811 during FY18-20. Total per capita allocations remained high and steady in areas of highest diversity.

Racial Diversity Index	FY14-16 Total Per Capita	FY15-17 Total Per Capita	FY16-18 Total Per Capita	FY17-19 Total Per Capita	FY18-20 Total Per Capita
<22	\$3,925.65	\$3,715.62	\$9,385.45	\$9,104.41	\$9,810.06
23 to 38	\$7,493.56	\$7,740.98	\$10,701.14	\$9,150.66	\$9,987.89
39 to 54	\$4,882.79	\$3,638.82	\$4,728.42	\$4,985.72	\$5,724.93
>55	\$9,381.14	\$8,272.21	\$10,005.62	\$9,018.14	\$9,344.60

Ratio of Per Capita CIP Allocations FY14-20 by Racial Diversity Index



Key Takeaway: The CIP allocation has progressed towards a more equitable distribution over time, with a greater share going to areas with the lowest diversity index.

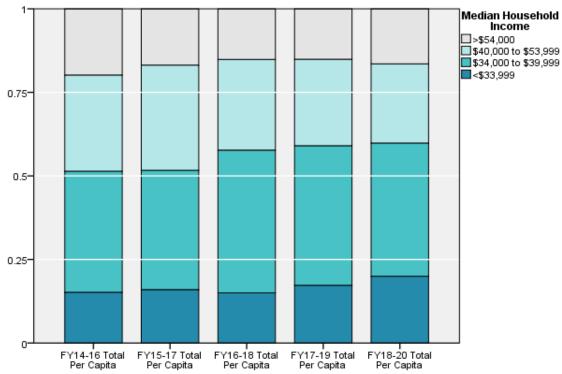
Income

The median income in Baltimore in 2017 was \$46,641. In all three-year time periods, the highest per capita CIP allocations were in the category of CSAs just below the citywide median (\$34,000-\$39,999), but not within the lowest category (with a median income less than \$33,999). In fact, communities with the highest and the lowest median incomes had less than half of CIP allocations occurring in the middle income neighborhoods. Communities with less than \$33,999 median income had less than half the per capita CIP allocation than that occurring in communities with median income between \$34,000 and \$39,999 (\$6,961.75 versus \$13,878.70 in FY18-20).

Table 4: The total per capita CIP allocation in communities with median income between \$34,000 and \$39,999 consistently had the highest values across all time periods. Per capita spending in these communities was more than double the spending in both lowest and the highest median income.

Median Household Income	FY14-16 Total Per Capita	FY15-17 Total Per Capita	FY16-18 Total Per Capita	FY17-19 Total Per Capita	FY18-20 Total Per Capita
<\$33,999	\$3,884.52	\$3,717.32	\$5,218.59	\$5,554.40	\$6,961.75
\$34,000 to \$39,999	\$9,303.89	\$8,347.69	\$14,855.62	\$13,473.59	\$13,878.70
\$40,000 to \$53,999	\$7,396.32	\$7,356.19	\$9,458.65	\$8,347.78	\$8,271.87
>\$54,000	\$5,098.40	\$3,946.44	\$5,287.76	\$4,883.16	\$5,755.15

Ratio of Per Capita CIP Allocations FY14-20 by Median Household Income



Key Takeaway: The graph above shows that the CIP allocation is highest in middle-income communities. The City might may want to consider using income as a criteria in future CIP allocations.

Indicators of Transgenerational Equity

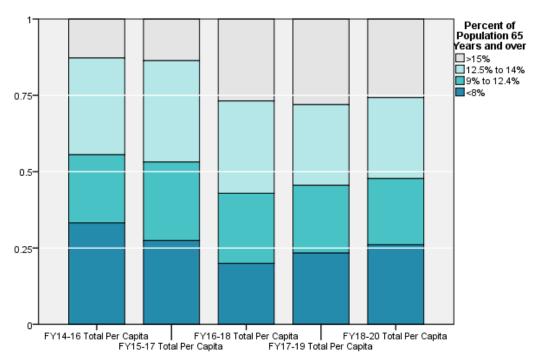
Age: Seniors

The percent of Baltimore's population who were over 65 years old in 2017 was 12.8%. In the earlier three-year time periods (FY14-16 and FY15-17) per capita CIP allocations in communities with the highest rates of seniors (greater than15 percent) was only half as much as in communities with lower percentages of seniors. In the latter time periods (FY17-18 and FY 18-20), however, a nearly equal distribution occurred across all CSA groups.

Table 5 below shows that the total per capita CIP allocation in communities with the highest percent of residents 65 and over increased by the greatest amount from \$3,277 per person during FY14-16 to \$8,981 during FY18-20.

Percent of Population 65 Years and over	FY14-16 Total Per Capita	FY15-17 Total Per Capita	FY16-18 Total Per Capita	FY17-19 Total Per Capita	FY18-20 Total Per Capita
<8%	\$8,527.92	\$6,415.21	\$6,946.64	\$7,524.93	\$9,085.98
9% to 12.4%	\$5,734.95	\$6,007.32	\$8,011.28	\$7,152.90	\$7,557.33
12.5% to 14%	\$8,143.60	\$7,755.07	\$10,508.70	\$8,535.60	\$9,243.00
>15%	\$3,276.67	\$3,190.05	\$9,354.01	\$9,045.49	\$8,981.16

Ratio of Per Capita CIP Allocation FY14-20 by Percent of Population 65 Years and over



Key Takeaway: The graph above shows that the CIP allocation has progressed towards a more equal distribution over time, with an increasing share going to areas with high rates of seniors.

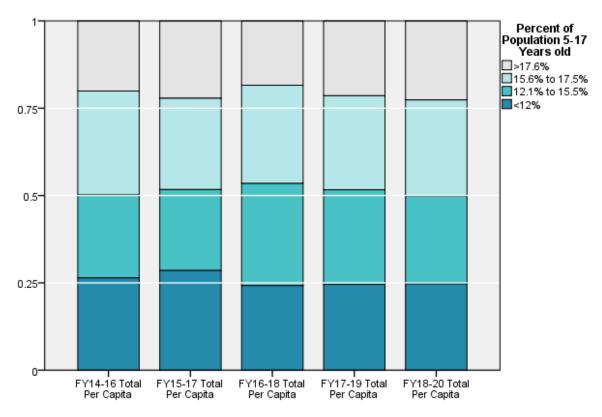
Age: School Age

The percent of Baltimore's population who were between 5 and 17 in 2017 was 14.4 percent. For all time periods, the per capita CIP allocation in the quartile of communities with the highest rates of school age children (greater than 17.6 percent) was just slightly lower than each of the other categories (\$7,893.80 vs \$8,607.06, \$8,785.72, and \$9,580.90 in FY18-20). However, since this analysis does not include State of Maryland funded school construction, only a portion of the total investment in schools (an important investment for school-aged children) is quantified in this analysis.

Table 6: Across each of the 3-year time periods, nearly each of the CSA groups for percent of school age children had the same dollar amount of CIP allocations.

Percent of Population 5-17 Years old	FY14-16 Total Per Capita	FY15-17 Total Per Capita	FY16-18 Total Per Capita	FY17-19 Total Per Capita	FY18-20 Total Per Capita
<12%	\$6,787.56	\$6,666.84	\$8,430.81	\$7,921.23	\$8,607.06
12.1% to 15.5%	\$6,101.26	\$5,417.78	\$10,186.44	\$8,746.17	\$8,785.72
15.6% to 17.5%	\$7,642.93	\$6,105.07	\$9,792.06	\$8,679.59	\$9,580.90
>17.6%	\$5,151.39	\$5,177.96	\$6,411.32	\$6,911.93	\$7,893.80

Ratio of Per Capita CIP Allocation FY14-20 by Percent of Population 5-17 Years old



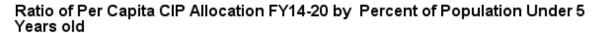
Key Takeaway: CIP allocations seem to be equally distributed to areas of all ranges of school age populations. The lowest per capita investment does occur in communities with the highest percentage of school age children, but because of the gap in data from state-based expenditures it is difficult to draw a strong conclusion. This data gap should be addressed in future analyses.

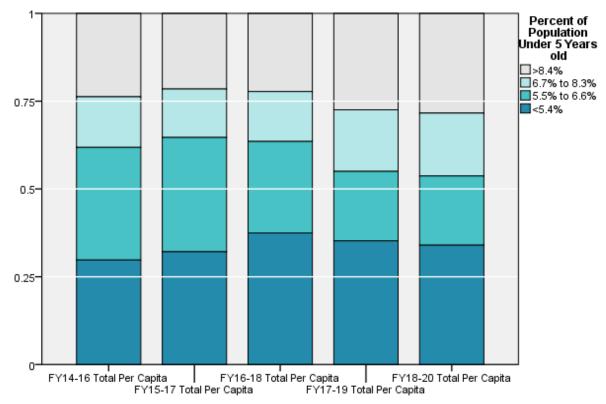
Age: Under 5

The percent of Baltimore's population who were under five years old in 2017 was 6.6. Per capita CIP allocations have consistently been greatest in communities with the lowest percentage of children under five. The per capita allocation in neighborhoods with the lowest percentage of young children is nearly double the allocation to neighborhoods just higher than the citywide average, between 6.7 percent and 8.3 percent children under five (\$11,851.75 versus \$6,249.65 in FY18-20). Per capita allocation in communities with the highest under five population has increased over the time periods examined, but it is still not as high as the allocation in communities with the lowest under five population.

Table 7: The CIP allocation in neighborhoods with the highest percent of children under 5 years old grew steadily from \$6,099 to \$9,902. However, this increase is not as high as the CIP allocations in neighborhoods with the lowest percentage of children under 5. Communities with moderate percent of children under 5 consistently had the lowest per capita CIP allocation.

Percent of Population Under 5 Years old	FY14-16 Total Per Capita	FY15-17 Total Per Capita	FY16-18 Total Per Capita	FY17-19 Total Per Capita	FY18-20 Total Per Capita
<5.4%	\$7,644.93	\$7,507.47	\$13,040.67	\$11,364.92	\$11,851.75
5.5% to 6.6%	\$8,237.61	\$7,604.69	\$9,075.49	\$6,380.89	\$6,863.86
6.7% to 8.3%	\$3,702.06	\$3,221.62	\$4,952.60	\$5,647.80	\$6,249.65
>8.4%	\$6,098.54	\$5,033.88	\$7,751.87	\$8,865.31	\$9,902.21





Key Takeaway: The graph above shows that the CIP allocation has consistently been highest in communities with low percentage of under-five population. The allocation has increased to communities with the highest rates (>8.4 percent) of children under five, but communities with middle rates (between 6.7 percent and 8.3 percent) consistently had a lower share of CIP allocation. These neighborhoods have higher rates of young children than the citywide average. The City may wish to consider neighborhoods with very young children as a criteria for prioritizing future CIP investments, particularly those that affect children.

Indicator of Procedural Equity

Plan Year

Many communities in Baltimore have plans or studies that involve intense visioning and planning processes that bring residents, neighborhood groups, businesses and city agencies together to plan for the future of a smaller area. The process of creating an area plan helps all stakeholders in the neighborhood coordinate resources from public agencies, which could be included into agency priorities within the CIP. However, not all neighborhoods in Baltimore have a plan¹⁹ that has been officially adopted by the Planning Commission. For those that do, some are more than a decade old. Having a more recently adopted plan does seem to have a relationship to how CIP dollars are distributed. In all

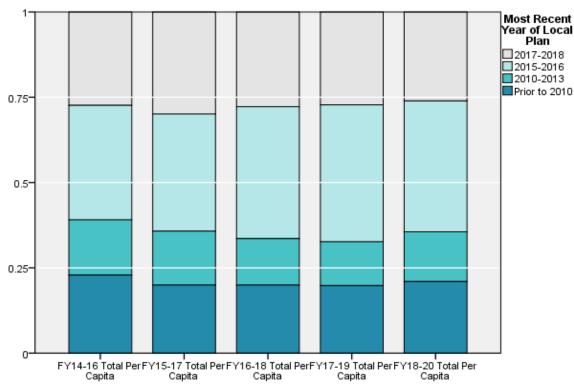
¹⁹ To see an interactive map of all adopted area plans and studies, see online https://planning.baltimorecity.gov/planning-plans/neighborhood

time periods neighborhoods with plans adopted more recently than 2015 had a higher per capita allocation than those with plans adopted before 2015.

Table 8: The CIP allocation in communities with plans adopted in 2015-2016 increased by the greatest amount from \$8,573 in FY14-16 to \$13,251 in FY18-20.

Most Recent Year of Local Plan	FY14-16 Total Per Capita	FY15-17 Total Per Capita	FY16-18 Total Per Capita	FY17-19 Total Per Capita	FY18-20 Total Per Capita
Prior to 2010	\$5,837.95	\$4,642.99	\$6,928.28	\$6,341.18	\$7,251.62
2010-2013	\$4,147.78	\$3,677.83	\$4,721.49	\$4,132.90	\$5,014.16
2015-2016	\$8,573.29	\$7,990.69	\$13,418.79	\$12,863.75	\$13,251.06
2017-2018	\$6,991.04	\$6,959.54	\$9,632.45	\$8,732.71	\$8,990.48

Ratio of Per Capita CIP Allocation FY14-20 by Most Recent Year of Local Plan



Key Takeaway: The highest CIP allocations occurs for communities with a recently adopted plan. From a procedural perspective, communities with older plans (or no plan) should begin the process of adopting a small area plan so that CIP projects can be planned with community input.

Indicators of Structural Equity

Vacancy

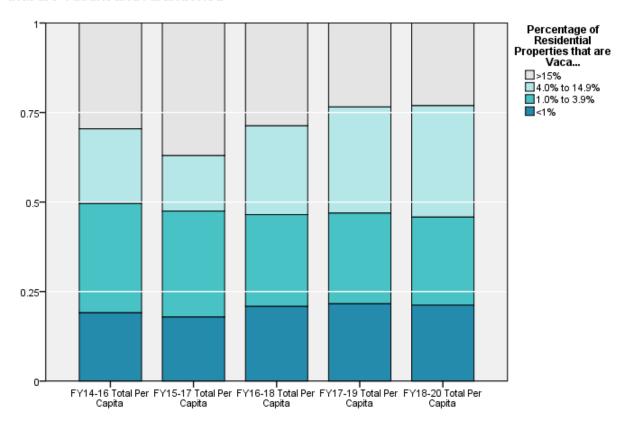
Residential housing within neighborhoods represents the majority of real estate for most communities in Baltimore City. Due to several decades of population loss, by 2017 8.2 percent of housing was vacant and abandoned. Some communities in Baltimore have much higher rates of vacancy, which present a major burden to the residents and businesses that are still there. In 2015, Maryland Governor Hogan announced funding for Project C.O.R.E.²⁰ to support the City's ability to demolish vacant and abandoned buildings. While demolitions of blighted properties in high vacancy neighborhoods has increased since 2015, these kinds of investments are not included in this analysis as they are part of the bulk (nonmapped) CIP accounts. Per capita CIP allocations were fairly similar in the highest vacancy neighborhoods between the FY14-16 and FY18-20 time periods, but increased in the quartile of communities with the second-highest vacancy rate.

Table 9: The greatest increases in per capita CIP allocation has occurred within communities with between 4% and 14.9% vacant buildings; in these communities, per capita CIP allocation was \$5,352 during FY14-16 and more than doubled to \$10,848 by FY 18-20.

Percentage of Residential Properties that are Vacant and Abandoned	FY14-16 Total Per Capita	FY15-17 Total Per Capita	FY16-18 Total Per Capita	FY17-19 Total Per Capita	FY18-20 Total Per Capita
<1%	\$4,903.36	\$4,180.82	\$7,262.37	\$6,967.56	\$7,400.85
1.0% to 3.9%	\$7,834.96	\$6,912.36	\$8,930.79	\$8,163.36	\$8,564.48
4.0% to 14.9%	\$5,351.66	\$3,622.02	\$8,635.04	\$9,571.48	\$10,847.93
>15%	\$7,593.15	\$8,652.46	\$9,992.44	\$7,556.52	\$8,054.22

²⁰ For more information on Project C.O.R.E (Creating Opportunities for Renewal and Enterprise), visit the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development website http://dhcd.maryland.gov/ProjectCORE/

Ratio of Per Capita CIP Allocation FY14-20 by Percentage of Residential Properties that are Vacant and Abandoned



Key Takeaway: CIP allocation (for projects not including demolition) has grown for communities between 4 percent and 14.9 percent vacancy, but remained flat in communities with greater than 15 percent vacancy. Subsequent analyses of CIP allocations should include the locations of demolitions to better reflect capital investments that may be going into neighborhoods with high vacancy.

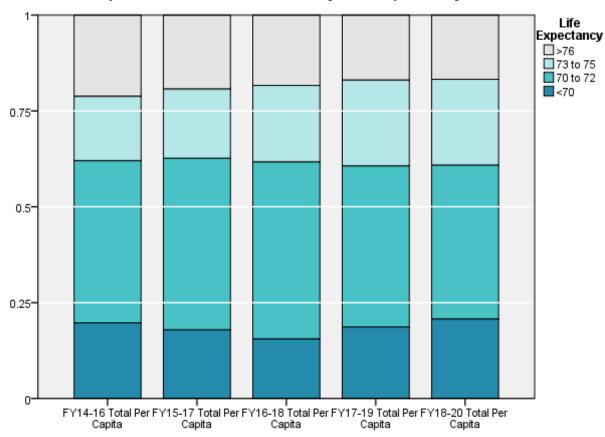
Life Expectancy

Life expectancy at birth is perhaps the ultimate indicator of health. More research has shown that health outcomes are increasingly being determined by the places we live rather than our personal genetic code. In 2017, life expectancy in Baltimore was 72.9 years, which varies widely from one community to another. Across all three-year time periods, the per capita CIP allocation for communities with life expectancy just below the citywide average (70 to 72 years) was approximately double that to any other kind of community. Communities with the lowest life expectancy (less than 70 years) consistently had less than half of the per capita CIP allocation.

Table 10: The per capita CIP allocation in communities with life expectancy between 70 and 72 years was consistently more than double the amount in communities with lower life expectancy (< 70 years).

Life Expectancy	FY14-16 Total Per Capita	FY15-17 Total Per Capita	FY16-18 Total Per Capita	FY17-19 Total Per Capita	FY18-20 Total Per Capita
<70	\$5,066.49	\$4,187.31	\$5,410.30	\$6,018.08	\$7,228.89
70 to 72	\$10,858.58	\$10,455.09	\$16,066.54	\$13,546.47	\$13,989.51
73 to 75	\$4,310.28	\$4,217.51	\$6,949.57	\$7,221.98	\$7,813.52
>76	\$5,447.79	\$4,507.73	\$6,394.23	\$5,472.40	\$5,835.55

Ratio of Per Capita CIP Allocation FY14-20 by Life Expectancy



Key Takeaway: The graph above shows that share of CIP allocation has consistently been highest in communities with life expectancy just below the citywide average of 72.9 years. However, communities with the lowest life expectancy (less than 70 years) have relatively low share of CIP allocation. Agencies may want to consider life expectancy in neighborhoods as a factor in formulating CIP requests in the future.

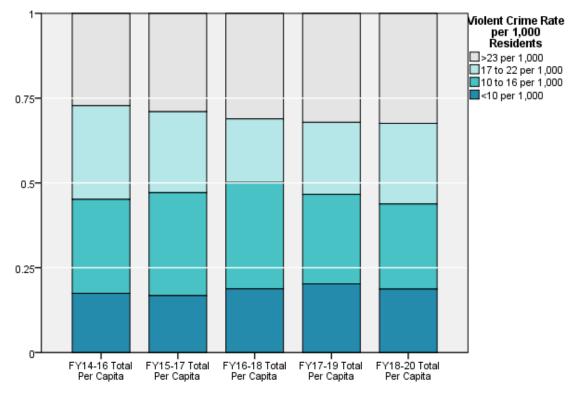
Crime

High rates of violent crime within neighborhoods are the greatest detractor for quality of life and often associated with low levels of economic opportunity. Since supporting economic development is one of the key objectives of the CIP, tracking allocations along this indicator provides a way to view the potential relationship between CIP investments and crime. The violent crime rate per 1,000 residents in Baltimore City was 20.1 in 2017. Per capita CIP allocations in communities with the highest rates of crime (greater than 23 per 1,000 residents) has slowly increased from \$6,985.36 to \$11,313.18.

Table 11: The per capita CIP allocation in communities with the highest rates of violent crime increased by the greatest amount from \$6,985 in FY14-18 to \$11,313 in FY18-20.

Violent Crime Rate per 1,000 Residents	FY14-16 Total Per Capita	FY15-17 Total Per Capita	FY16-18 Total Per Capita	FY17-19 Total Per Capita	FY18-20 Total Per Capita
<10 per 1,000	\$4,483.35	\$3,922.61	\$6,543.05	\$6,530.20	\$6,522.28
10 to 16 per 1,000	\$7,112.18	\$7,092.53	\$10,917.16	\$8,522.64	\$8,754.93
17 to 22 per 1,000	\$7,102.25	\$5,574.78	\$6,531.34	\$6,849.48	\$8,277.08
>23 per 1,000	\$6,985.36	\$6,777.72	\$10,829.08	\$10,356.60	\$11,313.18

Ratio of Per Capita CIP Allocation FY14-20 by Violent Crime Rate per 1,000 Residents



Key Takeaway: The graph above shows that the CIP allocation has progressed towards a more equitable distribution over time, with a greater share going to areas with the highest rates of violent crime.

Property Type

This final section aims to address investment in commercial areas of the city versus more residential areas by looking at total CIP allocations both per capita and per job within communities. The total population of Baltimore in 2010 was 620,961 and the total number of jobs was 350,797 in 2016. Communities with high concentrations of commercial properties also tend to have more jobs than residential population. For example, in Downtown/Seton Hill, the residential population is 6,446 but the number of jobs is 78,158.

Analysis of CIP allocations per capita versus per job does show significant differences particularly for regional job centers in Baltimore that may see more daytime population when employees are at work. For example, in the first two time periods FY 14-16 and FY 15-17, per capita spending seems highest in the more commercial parts of Baltimore. However, when calculated per job, the CIP allocation appears far less in communities with more commercial properties than in other communities.

Table 12: Per capita CIP allocations were highest in FY14-16 and FY 15-17 in communities with high rates of commercial properties and remained steady over time.					
commercial properties and	remained steady	over time.			
Ratio Commercial to	FY14-16 Total	FY15-17 Total	FY16-18 Total	FY17-19 Total	FY18-20 Total
Residential	Per Capita	Per Capita	Per Capita	Per Capita	Per Capita
<0.03	\$4,253.37	\$4,149.23	\$7,135.05	\$5,742.34	\$6,309.59
0.04 to 0.06	\$7,610.44	\$7,077.32	\$12,598.46	\$10,821.33	\$11,079.75
0.07 to 0.14	\$4,655.24	\$3,957.09	\$5,622.12	\$6,635.44	\$7,881.02
>0.15	\$9,164.09	\$8,184.01	\$9,465.00	\$9,059.81	\$9,597.11

Table 13: Per job CIP allocations were significantly lower in the more commercial communities in Baltimore					
than any other kind of com	than any other kind of community.				
Ratio Commercial to	FY14-16 Total	FY15-17 Total	FY16-18 Total	FY17-19 Total	FY18-20 Total
Residential	Per Job	Per Job	Per Job	Per Job	Per Job
<0.03	\$60,475.80	\$55,946.68	\$106,211.70	\$89,611.00	\$93,973.52
0.04 to 0.06	\$57,393.56	\$56,438.10	\$72,793.75	\$55,086.42	\$57,108.03
0.07 to 0.14	\$15,719.00	\$16,739.11	\$28,376.83	\$36,224.49	\$36,804.35
>0.15	\$7,635.27	\$5,021.35	\$6,466.77	\$7,108.02	\$8,752.03

Key Takeaway: Analyzing CIP allocations per job as well as per capita could help further refine how investments support economic development priorities for the City.

Conclusions

In an effort to reverse decades of inequitable investments in Baltimore's neighborhoods, the city's Department of Planning sought a way to better understand how the annual Capital Improvement Program (CIP) could be contributing to greater equity among communities. The main goals of the analyses in this report were 1) to establish a methodology for distributing the influence of various kinds of CIP investments within neighborhoods and 2) to track these investments across different measures of equity over time. The purpose is to provide agencies as well as communities a way to review investments

through a multi-faceted equity lens. This report provides an analysis for FY 2014 through FY 2020 as well as a methodology to continue tracking investments moving forwards.

The wide range of projects that are included in the CIP (from recreation centers to water pumping stations) presents one of the major challenges for determining the impact CIP investments within neighborhoods. By using a categorization process to establish which CIP projects have local versus citywide impact provides more nuance to just assigning overall dollar amounts alone. While some communities have seen significant investment in projects of citywide significance, these might not provide improvement to daily quality of life concerns. Future CIP analysis should analyze the type of CIP project by equity indicator to see if local projects in particular are equitably distributed.

Overall, the analysis shows that between FY 2014 and FY 2020, Baltimore's CIP allocations have moved toward a more equal distribution along some equity measures but have not along all measures. In terms of distributional equity, far more equal investments in predominantly Black/African American communities have occurred over time; however, this may not yet be an equitable outcome that can help reverse prior disparities. The shift towards more equal distribution has occurred prior to the more intentional review of CIP allocations and may not be sustained or sufficient to truly overcome historical inequities. With respect to income, the CIP allocation has been consistently greatest in middle-income communities, not low-income neighborhoods. The City might want to consider increasing funding for low-income neighborhoods in future CIP allocations. Future analyses should also review the relationship between race and income.

In terms of age, the per capita CIP allocations over time did seem to become more even for communities with seniors. For children under five, communities with the highest rates of children did not experience an even share of CIP allocation. However, since the current analysis does not include school investments from the State of Maryland, this relationship could easily change with inclusion of these data in future analyses.

The absence of data within city agency bulk accounts of the CIP also presents an incomplete picture of neighborhood investment when looking at indicators of structural inequality. Communities with the highest rates of vacancy and the lowest life expectancy had relatively low CIP allocations particularly in the latter time periods. However, since the location of programs such as blight elimination through demolition are not known at the beginning of the CIP process, it is highly recommended that City agencies establish a process for reporting on bulk account expenditures to DOP as part of the annual Equity Assessment Program. One possibility is to adopt an open data system for expenditures such as Open Checkbook²¹ in New York City. Of top priority would be the kinds of expenditures that improve quality of life in neighborhoods such as blight elimination, road resurfacing and other aesthetic improvements.

Finally, equity planning is about how the process of decision-making occurs. From a procedural equity lens, CIP allocation was far greater in communities with a recently adopted small area plan. From a procedural perspective, communities with older plans (or no plan) should begin the process of adopting a small area plan so that CIP projects can be planned with community input. Additionally, DoP should continue and expand its CIP community engagement and outreach efforts. In fall 2018, DoP launched a Baltimore Planning Academy²² to train community members on the basics of the land use and

²¹ New York City Comptroller, Checkbook NYC https://www.checkbooknyc.com/

²² For more information on the Baltimore Planning Academy, visit https://www.baltimoreplanningacademy.com/

development system as well as how the CIP process works and at what points to interact with the capital budget system. Such learning and engagement opportunities will enable more community leaders to provide input into the CIP budgeting process.

This findings in this report are based on a collaborative and iterative process in order to provide a replicable methodology for DoP to continue to track how CIP allocations are made against various measures of equity. As part of an ongoing tracking protocol for the City of Baltimore, particular attention was paid to developing a methodology that used best practices from other cities. Therefore, some of the analysis in this report which provides baseline results may not be necessary to track in the future. For example, using the Diversity Index as an indicator may not provide much by way of actionable findings, since no definitive equitable outcome can be discerned (i.e. should more funding go to diverse neighborhoods or more to non-diverse neighborhoods which would include both predominantly black and predominantly white neighborhoods?). The results of the analysis have been included in this report, however, so that future efforts can take these findings into account. Overall, these indicators did seem valuable to include in the future:

Type of Equity	Community Based Indicators
Distributional Equity	Race Income Include in Future: Income By Race
Transgenerational Equity	Age Include in Future: Wealth/Ownership
Procedural Equity	Plan Year
Structural Equity	Vacancy Crime Life Expectancy

Finally, in an effort to provide open access to the 7 years of fiscal CIP data as well as existing open data for the community-based indicators, BNIA-JFI has worked with the DoP to create a publically-available interactive map which can be accessed at http://arcg.is/1Cn1CX.

Appendix A: CIP Allocation Distribution Methodology

One of the main purposes of this report was to establish a replicable methodology for the Department of Planning to continue to collect and track information for future CIP allocations. This appendix provides detailed steps taken for future analysis. The first requirement was to categorize CIP projects into one of three categories, "Local", "Multi-Neighborhood", and "Citywide". For Local projects, 100% of project funds would be attributed to a quarter mile buffer; for Multi-Neighborhood projects 50% of project funds would be attributed to a quarter mile buffer and 50% of funds to a 1 mile buffer; lastly, for Citywide projects 50% of project funds would be attributed to a quarter mile buffer and 50% of funds to a 5 mile buffer.

These projects were analyzed in ArcMap to determine each mapped project's proximity to CSAs. Prior to importing dollar values into the GIS, the data was analyzed in Excel. The following steps were followed:

- Labels were appended to each record, indicating if a project was being classified as Local, Multi-Neighborhood, or Citywide;
- For Multi-Neighborhood and Citywide projects, the total project value was divided by 50% with half of the value intending to be analyzed at a quarter mile buffer and the other half at a larger buffer "donut" that excluded a quarter mile;
- Examine the spatial location data to determine if any CIP projects have more than one geographic location, and if so, divide the project value (already at 50% for Multi-Neighborhoods and City) by the number of locations.

Once the project data was analyzed in Excel it was imported to ArcMap for spatial analysis. For Local projects the following steps were followed:

- Append the analyzed Excel file to the point, polygon, and line GIS layers, ensuring that only
 projects for that year and for that "local" designation are displayed;
- Create a guarter mile buffer for the point, polygon, and line features;
- Merge the point/polygon/line files into one feature class for analysis;
- Add a field ("OrigArea") and calculate the area (in square miles) for the buffer polygon;
- Use the Identity feature to split the buffer polygon into new components by CSA- this will add new records to the file and append the CSA name to the output;
- Add a new field ("NewArea") and calculate the area (in square miles) of the new polygons of buffers related to CSAs;
- Add a new field ("Share") and calculate the "new area" of the buffer polygons divided by the "old area" of the original buffers;
- Add a new field ("TotDiv") to calculate the "Share" of the polygon multiplied by the project valuethis will be the dollar amount of the project attributed to that CSA;

• Use the Dissolve function to aggregate the polygon buffers by CSA and select the option to run statistics on the "TotDiv" field to calculate the sum of project dollars attributed by CSA- the resulting output will be a table of CSA names and the total "local" project dollars.

For Multi-Neighborhood and Citywide projects the following steps were followed:

- Append the Excel file to the point, polygon, and line GIS layers, ensure that only projects for that year and multi-neighborhood or citywide designation are displayed;
- Create a quarter mile buffer for the point, polygon, and line features- see the steps above for
 "local" projects for calculating the "OrigArea", "NewArea", "Share", and "TotDiv" fields. Since the
 project values were divided by 50% in Excel, this will provide values for projects inside the
 quarter mile, localized area.
- Create a 1 mile buffer for the point, polygon, and line features for Multi-Neighborhood projects and a 5 mile for Citywide projects;
- Use the Erase function to erase the quarter mile buffers from the 1 or 5 mile buffer polygons- the result will be a "donut" with a quarter mile center missing;
- Follow the same steps above for calculating the "OrigArea", "NewArea", "Share", and "TotDiv" fields. The result will be 50% of the funds for outside the quarter mile area, for the donut polygon.

Once the 5 analyses are completed (Local, Multi-Neighborhood – Inside Quarter Mile, Multi-Neighborhood – Outside Quarter Mile, Citywide – Inside Quarter Mile, and Citywide – Outside Quarter Mile) aggregate all files to obtain a master total of all project amounts by CSA, including mapped project values outside of the city.

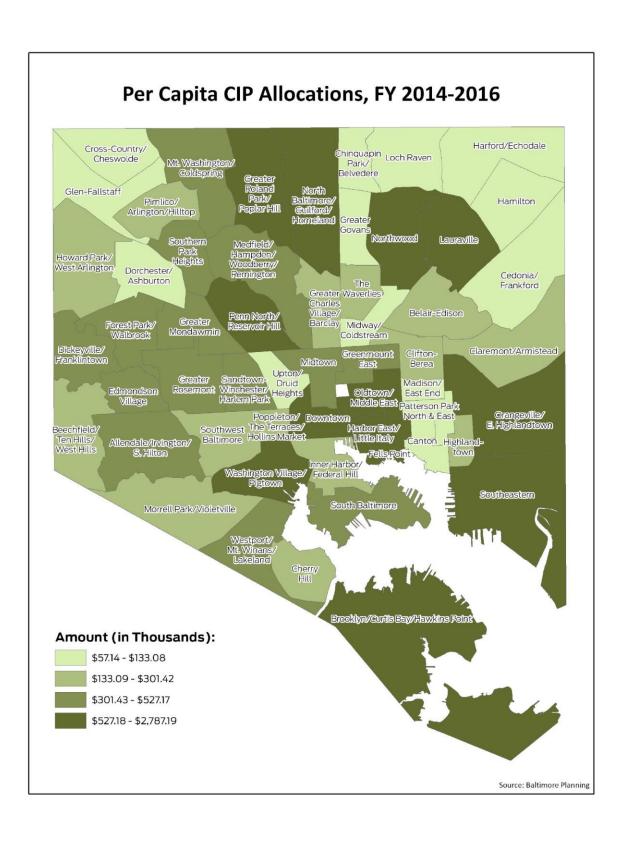
Appendix B: Data Tables and Maps of Per Capita Allocations

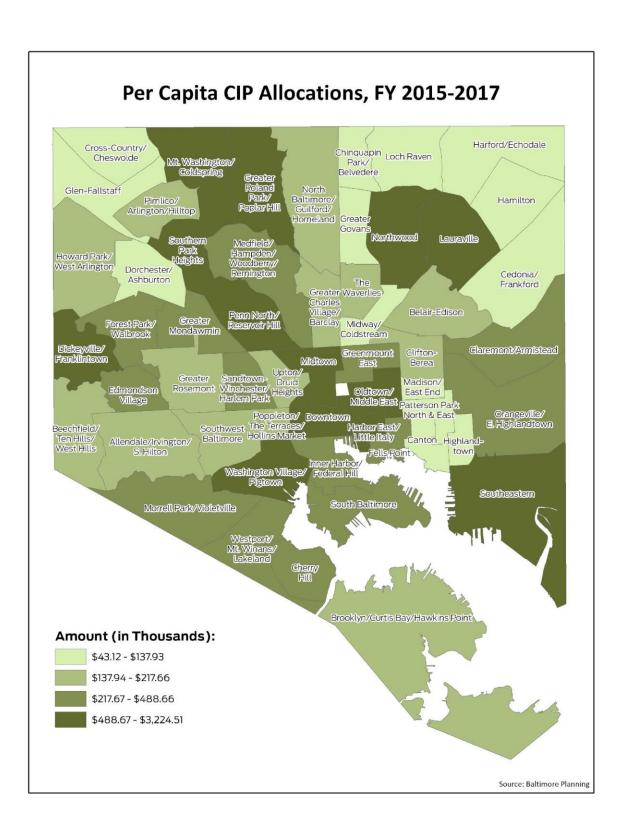
Per Capita CIP Allocations Across all Six Fiscal Years by Community (FY14-20) FY14-20 Local Per Capita FY14-20 Multi-Neighborhood Per Capita FY14-20 Citywid Per Capita Allendale/Irvington/S. Hilton \$2,011.16 \$1,382.81 \$574.9 Baltimore City \$1,022.09 \$839.71 \$1,811.3 Beechfield/Ten Hills/West Hills \$1,024.51 \$968.03 \$519.0 Belair-Edison \$375.50 \$568.33 \$442.1 Brooklyn/Curtis Bay/Hawkins Point \$239.86 \$915.13 \$9,002.9 Canton \$982.87 \$139.66 \$405.8 Cedonia/Frankford \$435.29 \$157.03 \$312.3 Cherry Hill \$1,894.89 \$1,402.93 \$683.8
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Chinquapin Park/Belvedere \$1,009.06 \$6.37 \$467.7
Claremont/Armistead \$2,671.00 \$259.23 \$934.0
Clifton-Berea \$813.32 \$363.34 \$455.8
Cross-Country/Cheswolde \$105.13 \$3.90 \$310.3
Dickeyville/Franklintown \$2,166.97 \$1,785.81 \$1,149.1
Dorchester/Ashburton \$82.70 \$991.01 \$1,049.6
Downtown/Seton Hill \$3,967.09 \$733.55 \$9,329.0
Edmondson Village \$247.16 \$3,214.33 \$463.0
Fells Point \$3,670.01 \$256.59 \$349.1
Forest Park/Walbrook \$354.90 \$2,046.94 \$938.0
Glen-Fallstaff \$360.59 \$56.43 \$341.9
Greater Charles Village/Barclay \$247.18 \$594.34 \$517.4
Greater Govans \$346.34 \$5.22 \$411.1
Greater Mondawmin \$237.34 \$2,593.59 \$9,539.4
Greater Roland Park/Poplar Hill \$1,665.08 \$2,949.34 \$1,388.5
Greater Rosemont \$220.60 \$843.85 \$523.1
Greenmount East \$1,893.08 \$332.36 \$468.8
Hamilton \$1,063.06 \$22.16 \$258.7
Harbor East/Little Italy \$5,582.69 \$403.98 \$695.5
Harford/Echodale \$73.10 \$63.31 \$266.8

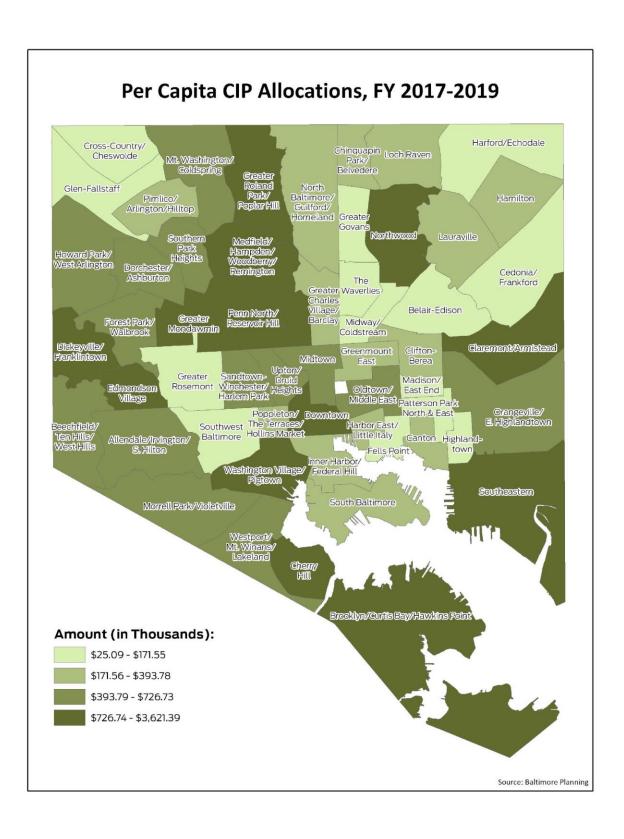
Per Capita CIP Allocations Across all Six Fiscal Years by Community (FY14-20)	FY14-20 Local Per Capita	FY14-20 Multi-Neighborhood Per Capita	FY14-20 Citywide Per Capita
Highlandtown	\$1,103.24	\$117.52	\$335.45
Howard Park/West Arlington	\$1,234.09	\$93.57	\$690.43
Inner Harbor/Federal Hill	\$991.80	\$317.83	\$1,041.74
Lauraville	\$199.63	\$2,340.75	\$601.87
Loch Raven	\$416.44	\$79.27	\$350.62
Madison/East End	\$494.26	\$102.00	\$270.16
Medfield/Hampden/Woodberry/Remington	\$1,001.20	\$2,777.86	\$758.54
Midtown	\$1,025.90	\$337.45	\$1,584.66
Midway/Coldstream	\$416.12	\$112.48	\$364.90
Morrell Park/Violetville	\$268.73	\$806.40	\$1,334.09
Mount Washington/Coldspring	\$843.12	\$264.60	\$1,780.39
North Baltimore/Guilford/Homeland	\$131.16	\$329.62	\$2,696.92
Northwood	\$670.19	\$436.78	\$5,652.72
Oldtown/Middle East	\$2,648.53	\$1,148.91	\$857.18
Orangeville/East Highlandtown	\$2,329.96	\$277.96	\$1,616.37
Patterson Park North & East	\$83.99	\$61.53	\$220.96
Penn North/Reservoir Hill	\$535.20	\$4,133.81	\$9,604.18
Pimlico/Arlington/Hilltop	\$1,118.15	\$90.44	\$402.44
Poppleton/The Terraces/Hollins Market	\$1,156.53	\$292.71	\$370.08
Sandtown-Winchester/Harlem Park	\$1,481.20	\$546.77	\$2,419.71
South Baltimore	\$635.68	\$615.75	\$1,478.39
Southeastern	\$4,487.24	\$7,380.98	\$2,144.94
Southern Park Heights	\$2,735.50	\$253.46	\$403.51
Southwest Baltimore	\$247.87	\$511.97	\$379.80
The Waverlies	\$741.77	\$68.65	\$510.02
Upton/Druid Heights	\$1,925.93	\$362.76	\$339.91
Washington Village/Pigtown	\$1,296.71	\$2,062.71	\$1,487.69
Westport/Mount Winans/Lakeland	\$1,315.90	\$925.79	\$1,826.19

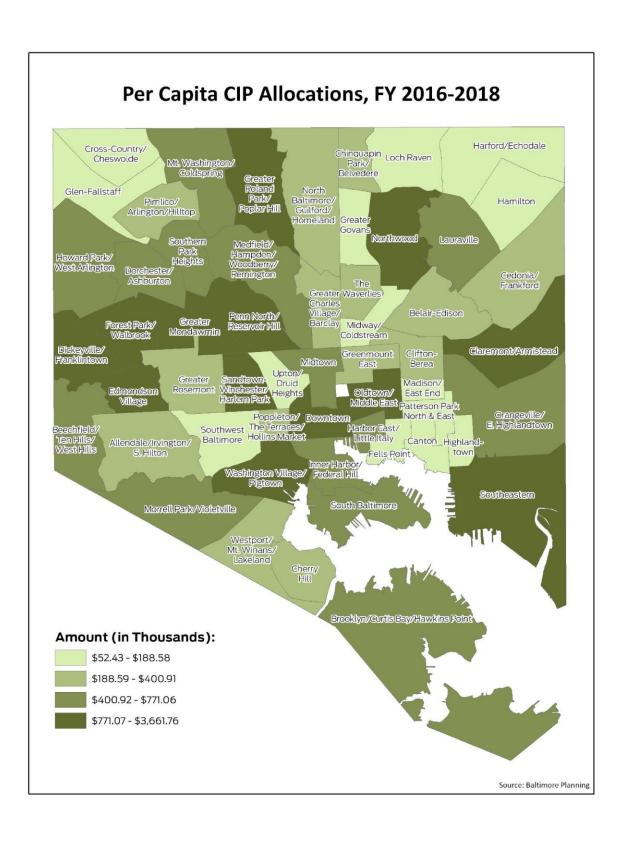
Three-year Average Per Capital CIP Allocations by Community	FY14-16 Total Per Capita	FY15-17 Total Per Capita	FY16-18 Total Per Capita	FY17-19 Total Per Capita	FY18-20 Total Per Capita
Allendale/Irvington/S. Hilton	\$370.62	\$184.19	\$400.91	\$687.37	\$917.05
Beechfield/Ten Hills/West Hills	\$139.17	\$189.74	\$474.39	\$540.32	\$639.81
Belair-Edison	\$238.20	\$217.66	\$230.64	\$171.55	\$187.29
Brooklyn/Curtis Bay/Hawkins Point	\$1,625.41	\$165.99	\$771.06	\$963.13	\$1,732.24
Canton	\$133.08	\$96.59	\$119.62	\$188.38	\$360.15
Cedonia/Frankford	\$121.05	\$122.24	\$231.67	\$170.00	\$159.82
Cherry Hill	\$288.48	\$227.12	\$340.95	\$769.49	\$993.00
Chinquapin Park/Belvedere	\$87.99	\$104.00	\$259.36	\$373.59	\$374.51
Claremont/Armistead	\$235.77	\$253.44	\$783.87	\$925.32	\$971.30
Clifton-Berea	\$152.39	\$149.96	\$199.48	\$350.04	\$341.07
Cross-Country/Cheswolde	\$57.14	\$43.12	\$84.68	\$51.40	\$76.66
Dickeyville/Franklintown	\$397.78	\$526.47	\$975.04	\$1,269.48	\$1,155.35
Dorchester/Ashburton	\$132.02	\$136.23	\$637.47	\$566.49	\$553.02
Downtown/Seton Hill	\$1,663.88	\$2,395.71	\$2,641.48	\$2,222.85	\$1,970.44
Edmondson Village	\$511.89	\$403.66	\$867.76	\$768.05	\$686.66
Fells Point	\$821.91	\$488.66	\$188.58	\$137.06	\$568.71
Forest Park/Walbrook	\$436.82	\$452.81	\$812.47	\$668.68	\$630.24
Glen-Fallstaff	\$107.75	\$67.29	\$136.97	\$88.32	\$136.33
Greater Charles Village/Barclay	\$169.10	\$159.44	\$203.10	\$238.19	\$237.95
Greater Govans	\$76.09	\$94.48	\$133.73	\$171.06	\$146.00
Greater Mondawmin	\$384.22	\$371.85	\$3,661.76	\$3,621.39	\$3,715.56
Greater Roland Park/Poplar Hill	\$577.44	\$529.90	\$1,180.77	\$1,394.12	\$1,386.05
Greater Rosemont	\$327.16	\$191.78	\$192.41	\$141.50	\$189.02
Greenmount East	\$388.43	\$346.94	\$326.91	\$266.82	\$416.44
Hamilton	\$81.77	\$70.96	\$79.24	\$342.54	\$356.40
Harbor East/Little Italy	\$1,720.39	\$997.83	\$425.35	\$373.40	\$399.11
Harford/Echodale	\$62.76	\$44.93	\$55.97	\$25.09	\$68.67
Highlandtown	\$157.88	\$137.93	\$98.21	\$61.58	\$349.13
Howard Park/West Arlington	\$174.18	\$158.58	\$573.64	\$487.41	\$468.83

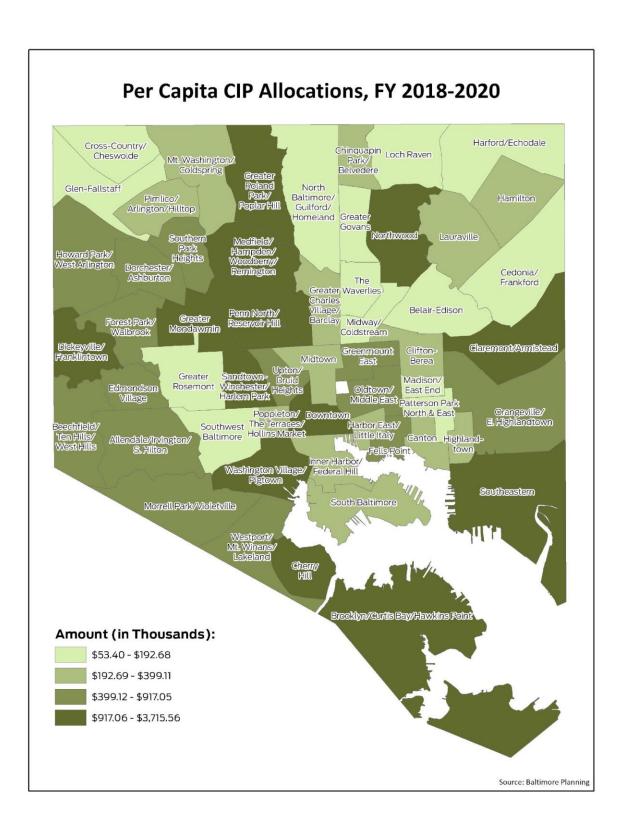
Three-year Average Per Capital CIP Allocations by Community	FY14-16 Total Per Capita	FY15-17 Total Per Capita	FY16-18 Total Per Capita	FY17-19 Total Per Capita	FY18-20 Total Per Capita
Inner Harbor/Federal Hill	\$301.42	\$335.01	\$440.28	\$393.78	\$324.35
Lauraville	\$726.05	\$717.76	\$756.35	\$288.81	\$292.14
Loch Raven	\$82.72	\$77.93	\$153.28	\$172.62	\$186.02
Madison/East End	\$98.68	\$95.45	\$138.71	\$119.71	\$154.83
Medfield/Hampden/Woodberry/Remington	\$491.10	\$317.48	\$695.05	\$841.93	\$979.62
Midtown	\$432.15	\$635.77	\$681.70	\$485.40	\$302.84
Midway/Coldstream	\$107.99	\$109.46	\$147.67	\$125.19	\$149.94
Morrell Park/Violetville	\$197.37	\$232.67	\$498.45	\$506.86	\$556.66
Mount Washington/Coldspring	\$382.54	\$543.56	\$749.11	\$551.51	\$349.33
North Baltimore/Guilford/Homeland	\$823.88	\$201.16	\$332.47	\$216.60	\$192.68
Northwood	\$1,115.44	\$1,104.15	\$1,658.64	\$976.26	\$1,111.96
Oldtown/Middle East	\$627.43	\$689.91	\$848.42	\$535.55	\$737.96
Orangeville/East Highlandtown	\$646.21	\$484.47	\$552.51	\$582.47	\$684.72
Patterson Park North & East	\$62.28	\$46.54	\$52.43	\$42.67	\$53.40
Penn North/Reservoir Hill	\$2,787.19	\$3,224.51	\$3,490.99	\$1,726.10	\$1,423.44
Pimlico/Arlington/Hilltop	\$185.55	\$195.94	\$273.27	\$193.54	\$276.75
Poppleton/The Terraces/Hollins Market	\$218.20	\$204.52	\$233.80	\$252.03	\$337.12
Sandtown-Winchester/Harlem Park	\$435.19	\$411.20	\$814.37	\$600.80	\$1,030.83
South Baltimore	\$419.15	\$372.86	\$455.00	\$347.68	\$397.87
Southeastern	\$1,732.01	\$2,070.38	\$2,446.37	\$2,275.62	\$1,938.79
Southern Park Heights	\$481.78	\$545.39	\$581.77	\$519.14	\$506.43
Southwest Baltimore	\$205.53	\$148.88	\$174.21	\$130.98	\$157.79
The Waverlies	\$230.10	\$153.36	\$209.26	\$170.11	\$138.31
Upton/Druid Heights	\$131.95	\$147.34	\$162.75	\$624.31	\$699.28
Washington Village/Pigtown	\$593.31	\$571.16	\$828.56	\$817.90	\$934.55
Westport/Mount Winans/Lakeland	\$527.17	\$401.32	\$357.73	\$726.73	\$763.08
Baltimore City	\$497.99	\$402.44	\$637.46	\$576.42	\$637.57











Appendix C: Maps of Community Statistical Areas Grouping by Equity Indicator

